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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to compare the news reporting of religion specialists and nonspecialists at three major metropolitan newspapers. Representing different news policies and structural constraints, 1,164 religion news items from the "New York Times," Minneapolis "Star," and the Richmond (Virginia) "Times-Dispatch" were content analyzed from June through August 1981. The results indicated consistent differences between the work of the two groups of journalists. As predicted, the specialists obtained most of their news information from religious sources, while the nonspecialists more often relied on secular sources. Although the two groups of journalists produced similar proportions of multiple-source stories, the religion specialists used those sources to provide several religious perspectives on an issue or event. The nonspecialists more often focused on the secular viewpoint, giving just enough information from a single religious source to give a religious angle to the article. The religion specialists at all the newspapers produced stories emphasizing change and cooperation more often than did the nonspecialists. Religion writers at each of the newspapers reported primarily on conflict within the religious community while the nonspecialists provided most of the coverage of conflict between religion and society. (HTH)

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Source Dependence and Story Production: A Comparison of Religion News Coverage by Specialists and Non-specialists at Three Newspapers

by

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Source Dependence and Story Production:
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The debate over whether a specialist or a generalist is best able to report the news is, perhaps, as old as journalism itself, but the trend in recent years seems to be toward greater specialization on the part of newspaper reporters.

Journalism educators and researchers who have studied particular subject-oriented beats frequently advocate specialization as a way to improve news coverage.[1] Their recommendations often influence journalism education at the college level. Mosse and Rarick found that in addition to receiving technical training in journalism, students often achieve substantial depth in one or more academic disciplines. Among undergraduate journalism majors, 90 percent earned at least 15 credit hours in at least one discipline other than journalism and 30 percent earned enough credit in another area for a second major.[2] Furthermore, recent studies indicate that approximately one-third of the accredited journalism programs offer students a chance to specialize within their journalism program by making available to them courses in urban affairs, legislative, business, science, law or education reporting.[3]

While the trend toward specialization is unlikely to disappear, the effect of specialization on news coverage is an open question. Some researchers contend that specialization, and the

beat system which fosters it, can adversely affect news coverage.[4] Not only may specialty reporters assimilate the values of some other profession, but they may also become dependent on a limited number of sources within that profession and collaborate with those sources in the production of news.[5]

In a study comparing stories by science writers and non-specialists at four newspapers, for example, Cole found that the science writers produced fewer stories emphasizing conflict within the scientific community or between science and society than did the non-specialists. However, the author cautioned that his study was not designed to measure the quality of the coverage provided by the two groups of journalists. It was, he concluded, equally possible that the science writers de-emphasized real confict or that the non-specialists sensationalized science news.[6]

Although a number of studies of specialty reporters indicate that the journalist's education, experience, role-orientation and perception of organization demands can make a significant difference in the news coverage between types of specialty writers, none provide much information about differences between news coverage by specialists and non-specialists working under similar constraints.[7]

Because so few studies include information about the work of both specialists and non-specialists covering the same type of news, it is impossible to determine whether there are consistent differences in the coverage provided by the two groups of journa-

lists. Therefore, this study was designed to provide additional information about the effects of specialization on news coverage by comparing the work of religion specialists and non-specialists for three major metropolitan newspapers.

In addition to providing data on the number, length, display and general characteristics of the stories produced by specialists and non-specialists, this study tested three hypotheses:

1. Religion specialists will most often turn to conveniently available sources within the religious community for their stories, while non-specialists will most often use secular sources they routinely encounter in covering other kinds of news.

2. Stories produced by the non-specialists will more often emphasize the hard news values of conflict, change and violence than will the stories produced by the religion specialists.

3. Religion specialists will produce more stories about purely religious concerns while non-specialists will produce more stories emphasizing interactions between religion and the secular society.

Methodology

Selection of Newspapers:[8] The New York Times, Minneapolis Star, and Richmond Times-Dispatch were selected for content analysis because these papers are frequently included on lists of the best American newspapers and are also frequently cited as being among the best papers for religion journalism. They also represent papers with different news policies and structural constraints,

are located in different cultural milieus and address different audiences. Therefore, an analysis of these newspapers could be expected to provide a broad understanding of religion news coverage.

The New York Times does not have a religion page, but it is one of only two general circulation daily newspaper that employs two full-time religion writers. Although the Times is published in the most competitive newspaper market, it does not really compete with other city newspapers. As the nation's pre-eminent newspaper, it hires experienced journalists who have proved their worth at other newspapers. These journalists are not generally expected to produce many stories, but they are expected to be capable of handling any news situation that develops on their beat. Times writers are encouraged to use their reporting skill to find and write relatively long stories that are of more than transitory local interest. However, they are not encouraged to collaborate with each other and frequently have little ability to determine which of the stories they write will actually appear in print.

In sharp contrast to the Times, during the period of this study the Minneapolis Star was a newspaper struggling to survive in the face of strong competition from its sister publication, the Tribune, and from the Pioneer-Dispatch in neighboring St. Paul. Reporters at the Star were generally hired to write news and news-features about events and situations involving or affec-

ting local people. As religion editor, the Star employed a talented feature writer and expert on Lutheranism, which is the dominant religion in the area. The religion editor was responsible for a locally-oriented religion page and had some authority to assign religion stories to other Star reporters, but he was not routinely consulted about stories about religion that were developed independently by other reporters.

In philosophy and practice, the Richmond Times-Dispatch fell somewhere between the Times and the Star. Like most city newspapers, the Times-Dispatch provided thorough local coverage, but it also billed itself as the "state newspaper of Virginia." Like the Times, the Times-Dispatch hired many specialty reporters who were expected to produce stories of more than transitory local interest. However, unlike the Times, the Times-Dispatch encouraged cooperation among its reporters. The religion writer at the Times-Dispatch was responsible for a weekly locally-oriented religion page, a weekly round-up of national and international news, and in-depth stories for the general news pages. Unlike his counterparts at the other papers, he was routinely consulted by other reporters and by the wire service editors whenever they encountered religion news. He also had some authority to assign reporters to religion news stories.

The Content analysis: All issues of each newspaper published between June 1 and August 31, 1981, were scanned for religion news. For this study all items appearing under the by-line of

the religion specialists at each newspaper were considered religion news. However, any item mentioning a religion, a religious organization or a word commonly associated with religion in a headline, subhead or story lead was considered religion news unless a careful reading of the item indicated the story was essentially devoid of information about religion. For example, sports stories involving participants from parochial schools and many political stories involving such groups as the Christian Democratic Party in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Muslim Fundamentalist Party in Iran and Jews in the Middle East were eliminated because the stories contained no significant information about religion.

Following this procedure, 1,164 religion news items were obtained for content analysis. This total included 304 from the New York Times, 278 from the Minneapolis Star, and 532 from the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

The content analysis scheme called for recording the display location and the length of each item, using eight lines of 30 characters each as a standard column inch. The coding procedures also called for determining the particular news value found in each story using a list of categories developed from a study of news values by Eberhard.[9] Open-ended lists of authors, sources of information and subjects were developed during the coding process and later collapsed into more general categories.

A number of reliability checks were built into the content analysis procedure. First, an adult who reads newspapers and

religion news regularly but has no particular interest in either subject was asked to scan a constructed week of each newspaper and prepare a list of all religion news items in each issue by using the definition of religion news for this study. A comparison of that list to the list of stories identified by the author indicated that fewer than one percent of the religion news items may have been overlooked. However, this study may have overestimated the total number of stories by as much as five percent because of the difficulty in determining when to include articles about religio-political conflict.

The articles selected from each newspaper were coded at the same time to maximize coding consistency within each group, but the articles themselves were numbered and then shuffled so they were not coded in chronological order. This was done to minimize any systematic error in following coding procedures.

When all the articles had been coded, a random sample of 26 items from the three newspapers was selected. These articles were recoded by the author and also by an outside coder experienced in content analysis and familiar with religion news.

Those variables which called for the development of categories were checked by an audit procedure in which the outside coder developed his own categories and then compared the results to the author's categories. In addition, the outside coder examined the entire list of original and collapsed categories developed

by the author for reasonableness. The lists developed individually by the author and the outside coder were very similar.

When the category lists had been checked, reliability figures were calculated for all variables where judgment was required. Both simple agreement and Scott's pi indicated good (.8) intra-coder and inter-coder reliability both within each newspaper and across the three newspapers on all variables reported in this study.

Findings

Amount, Display and Authorship of Religion News: Of the 334 religion news items that were printed in the Times during the summer of 1981, approximately two-thirds (65.9%) appeared in the first section of the paper. Religion news appeared on the front page 18 times and on the editorial page 16 times. Consistent with the paper's general commitment to in-depth coverage, more than half the stories were longer than 10 column inches; four ran to more than 100 column inches.

Although it is consistent with the organization's expectations of its journalists, it was rather surprising to find that the two religion writers produced very little religion news. Each specialist wrote 14 articles, nearly three-fourths of which were between 10 and 30 column inches.

Other staff writers, working independently from the Times specialists, produced 190 articles (56.9% of all religion news) including four stories longer than 100 column inches. Four staff

writers found at least six religion news items on their beats. Approximately one-third of the religion news in the Times was picked up from the major wire services, but no stories during the summer of 1981 were obtained directly from other newspapers.

During the same time period, the Star printed 277 articles about religion -- nearly as many as the much bigger New York Times even though the Times went to press seven days a week and the Star appeared only Monday through Friday. Of those stories, 151 (54.5%) appeared on the religion page, but approximately one-fourth of them were in the first-section news pages. Religion news appeared on the front page nine times and on the editorial page nine times.

The religion editor wrote 141 articles, most of which were used on the religion page, but nine competed successfully for space in the general news columns. Nearly half the religion news in the Star was picked up from wire services or other newspapers; other staff writers at the Star contributed only 31 articles.

Because the religion page featured at least one religion news round-up column each week and because the Star relegated many breaking national and international news stories to daily news round-up columns, the Star carried a greater percentage of religion news items shorter than 10 column inches (77.6%) than did the other two newspapers.

Of the three papers analyzed, the Times-Dispatch set aside more space for religion news and carried the largest number of

religion news items (532). However, only about one-third of those items appeared in the space set aside for religion news. Religion news made the front page and the editorial page 23 times each at the Times-Dispatch.

The religion specialist wrote 67 articles for the religion page and 80 for his weekly round-up column, but 17 items competed successfully for space in the general news columns. Although three-fourths of the articles by the religion writer were relatively short, he produced more items longer than 10 column inches than did any of the other religion specialists whose work was studied. Two of the four articles longer than 100 column inches carried by the Times-Dispatch were written by the religion specialist.

Although the Times-Dispatch specialist was a spectacularly prolific religion writer, the 165 articles he wrote accounted for slightly less than one-third of the religion news in the Times-Dispatch. Other staff writers contributed 115 articles, while the major wire services were used 220 times for religion news. Of the three newspapers, the Times-Dispatch relied most heavily on other newspapers and syndicates (32 items) primarily because of a decision to use these sources for coverage of Moral Majority, Inc., activities throughout Virginia.

Use of Sources: Although the categories for analyzing the sources used by specialists and non-specialists are not completely analogous -- because individual non-specialists produced very

few articles, the secular sources used by them were collapsed into broader categories than those used for religious sources -- the data clearly support hypothesis 1. All of the primary sources used most frequently by the specialists were religious sources. (See Table 1) The non-specialists turned to secular sources for their information far more often than they did to religious sources. (See Table 2) In fact, the only religious organizations that made the list of primary information sources consulted most frequently by non-specialists were the Roman Catholic Church, religio-political organizations of the New Christian Right within the United States, and religion-based political parties or factions in other countries.

Tables 1 and 2 present data only on the primary information sources used most frequently by the two groups of journalists, but an analysis of all the sources used in their articles revealed a still greater difference in the work of the two groups of journalists. Both groups produced roughly the same proportion of multiple-source stories. In their multiple-source stories, however, the non-specialists almost always included information gathered from both a secular and a religious source. Their stories rarely contained multiple religious viewpoints. But in their multiple-source stories, the religion specialists usually provided information gathered from several different religious organizations. But they rarely included information or comment from a secular source.

Although rather striking differences were found in the use of sources by the religion specialists and non-specialists, further examination of the sources they consulted indicated that the working habits of the two groups of journalists may be quite similar. Both groups rely most heavily on those sources most visible and available to them. For the religion specialists, this meant heavy use of those institutions they were expected to monitor regularly -- local religious organizations and those national ones most accessible to a particular specialist or whose activities were likely to be important to the newspaper's primary audience.

The non-specialists, on the other hand, did not set out to cover religion news. They found it while routinely monitoring familiar news sources. Court reporters, for example, occasionally encountered a trial in which a religious figure or organization was either a plaintiff or defendant. Their reports came from the police or from court records. Foreign correspondents sometimes found themselves covering conflict involving religious parties in Ireland, Iran, Central America or the Middle East. They relied on government or opposition spokespersons.

News Values: In spite of the differences in the sources used by the religion specialists and non-specialists in covering religion news, there were few clear or consistent differences in the news values in the stories produced by the two groups of journalists. Furthermore, the differences in news values between the two groups were frequently less striking than those noted

among the three newspapers. Thus, hypothesis 2 was only partly confirmed. In general, the specialists produced more stories with cooperation or change as the primary news value than did the non-specialists, while the non-specialists more often reported stories in which violence or novelty was the primary news value. (See Table 3)

Although non-specialists were more likely than the specialists to produce stories with conflict as the primary news value, only at the Star was there a large difference in the proportion of conflict-oriented stories produced by the two groups of journalists. A further analysis of those stories in which conflict was the primary news value suggests, however, that the significant difference in the stories produced by the two groups did not lie in the proportion of conflict-oriented stories produced by each group. Rather the major difference was the kind of conflict reported. The specialists concentrated on conflicts occurring within or between religious organizations; the non-specialists primarily reported conflicts between religion and some portion of the secular world.

Stories: Although most of the religion news carried in the three newspapers during the summer of 1981 consisted of accounts of isolated events or situations, those stories the gatekeepers at each newspaper singled out for sustained coverage underscored the differences in news orientation between religion specialists and non-specialists already noted in the sections concerning use

of sources and news values. The data clearly support hypothesis 3. The lists of continuing stories produced by the religion writers clearly indicate these specialists concentrated on religious news, albeit often on religious news with broad social implications. (See Table 5) The non-specialists provided continuing coverage of news about interactions between religion and society. (See Table 6)

Furthermore, the lists of the top stories covered by specialists and non-specialists suggest there was little interaction between the two groups of journalists. In fact, only at the Times-Dispatch, where overall authority for religion news was vested in the religion specialists, was there any similarity in the stories given continuing coverage by the specialists and by the non-specialists. The specialist at the Times-Dispatch gave the most sustained coverage to an explanation of the conflict between fundamentalists and modernists in the religious community, then treated various off-shoots of that conflict in stories about the national meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, the electronic church, and Moral Majority, Inc. Additional aspects of that conflict were explored in continuing stories by the non-specialists about the Moral Majority, the Rev. Donald Wildmon's proposed television boycott, reaction within the religious community to the appointment of Sandra Day O'Connor to the Supreme Court, and conflict between groups approving and opposing abortion.

Conclusion

During the summer of 1981 both specialists and non-specialists at the New York Times, Minneapolis Star, and Richmond Times-Dispatch provided a steady stream of news about religion. However, this study found consistent differences between the work of the two groups of journalists.

The specialists obtained most of the information for their stories from religious sources, while the non-specialists more often relied on secular sources. Although the two groups of journalists produced similar proportions of multiple-source stories, the religion specialists used those sources to provide several religious perspectives on an issue or event. The non-specialists more often focused on the secular viewpoint, giving just enough information from a single religious source to give a religious angle to the article.

Using information from the sources they consulted, the religion specialists at all the newspapers produced stories emphasizing change and cooperation more often than did the non-specialists. Because of a newspaper format requiring a weekly round-up column devoted to announcements and simple accounts of events within the local religious community, the specialists at the Star and Times-Dispatch also produced far more stories with no clear news values than did the non-specialists at these papers. At the same time, the non-specialists at each of the three newspapers emphasized

violence and novelty in their stories more often than did the specialists.

Only at the Star was there a clear difference in the proportion of stories emphasizing conflict produced by the two groups of journalists. However, further analysis of all conflict-oriented stories indicated that the religion writers at each of the newspapers reported primarily on conflict within the religious community while the non-specialists provided most of the coverage of conflict between religion and society.

An examination of the stories the specialists and non-specialists at the three newspapers singled out for continuing coverage further underscored the difference in the news coverage found by examining the use of sources and the production of conflict-oriented stories by the two groups of journalists. For the most part, the religion specialists reported news from within the religious community. The non-specialists covered news of the interaction between religion and the secular society.

Although this study found significant and consistent differences between the work of specialists and non-specialists, the findings should not be interpreted as meaning that either group did a better job of covering religion news. The data seem to indicate that all journalists most often gather news only from a fairly limited number of sources which are highly visible and readily accessible to them. For the most part, the differences that were found between the work of non-specialists and specialists

can be attributed to the division of labor that exists among journalists working for any newspaper.

Because of this division of labor, readers get significant news both about religion itself and about the interaction between religion and society. The coverage is undoubtedly more thorough than it would be if only specialists or only non-specialists reported about religion. However, the stories reported by specialists and non-specialists are not really complementary because the two groups of journalists rarely cover the same events, issues, or situations. The data suggest that only from newspapers like the Times-Dispatch, where news policy encourages cooperation between the specialist and non-specialists, are readers likely to have access to multiple religious and secular perspectives on related aspects of the same story.

Footnotes

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7. Stephen Lacey and David Matusik, "Dependence on Organization and Beat Sources for Story Ideas: A Case Study of Four Newspapers." Newspaper Research Journal, 5(2):9-16. Winter 1983; Sharon Dunwoody, "Science Journalists: A Study of Factors Affecting the Selection of News at a Scientific Meeting," unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 1978; Frederick A. Fico, "News Coverage of the Indiana State Senate: An Interaction Theory Approach," unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 1982.

8. Information about the three newspapers was obtained through interviews with the religion writers during July 1981 and December 1983. See also: Chris Argyris, Behind the Front Page (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974) p.274; Edward W. Said, Covering Islam (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981) pp. xi, 83-87; Arnold H. Ismach and Everette E. Dennis, "A Profile of Newspaper and Television Reporters in a Metropolitan Setting," Journalism Quarterly, 55(4):739-43, 898. Winter 1978.

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Table 1

Primary Sources[a] Used Most Frequently by Religion Specialists at Three Newspapers

Times (n=28)	Star (n=141)	Times-Dispatch (n=165)
So. Bapt. natl. conv. & hdqts. (n=5, 17.9%)	Local congregations (n=45, 31.9%)	Local congregations (n=57, 34.5%)
Am. Jewish Cong. natl. hdqts. (n=2, 7.1%)	Local relig. orgs. (n=12, 8.5%)	Local relig. orgs. (n=17, 10.3%)
Salvation Army natl. conv. (n=2, 7.1%)	Catholic regl. hdqts. (n=10, 7.1%)	So. Baptist natl. conv. & hdqts. (n=10, 6.1%)
Society of Jesus regl. hdqts. (n=2, 7.1%)	Luth. Church-Mo. Syn. natl. conv. & hdqts. (n=7, 5.0%)	So. Baptist regl. hdqts. (n=7, 4.2%)
Marykroll regl. hdqts. (n=2, 7.1%)	Am. Luth. Church natl. hdqts. (n=5, 3.5%)	Luth. World Fed. (n=6, 3.6%)
World Council of Churches (n=2, 7.1%)	----------	United Methodist regl. hdqts. (n=5, 3.0%)
Natl. Council of Churches (n=2, 7.1%)	----------	----------

[a]The primary source is the source from which the most important information in an article was obtained; if several sources were used equally, the primary source is the first one mentioned. Because of the small number of articles written by Times writers, any primary source used at least twice has been listed; for other papers the cut-off was arbitrarily set at five.

Table 2

Primary Sources[a] Used Most Frequently by Non-Specialists for Three Newspapers

Times (n=306)	Star (n=136)	Times-Dispatch (n=367)
Catholic regl.[b] (n=56, 18.5%)	Catholic regl.[b] (n=29, 21.3%)	Foreign Government (n=51, 13.9%)
Court (n-36, 11.8%)	Loc. Relig. Orgn. (n=12, 8.8%)	Catholic regl. (n=49, 1[illegible].4%)
Foreign Govt. (n=31, 10.1%)	Court (n=12, 8.8%)	Court (n=3[illegible], 8.2%)
Vatican (n=19, 6.2%)	Vatican (n=11, 8.1%)	Relig. Pol. Party (n=22, 6.0%)
Relig. Pol. Party (n=12, 3.9%)	Foreign Govt. (n=11, 8.1%)	Other Media (n=21, 6.9%)
Other Media (n=12, 3.9%)	Police (n=10, 7.4%)	Business (n=12, 3.9%)
Police (n=10, 3.3%)	Other Media (n=9, 6.6%)	Federal Govt. (n=9, 2.9%)
Loc./State Govt. (n=10, 3.3%)	Hospital (n=6, 4.4%)	Hospital (n=8, 2.6%)
Business (n=10, 3.3%)	Moral Majority (n=5, 3.7%)	Moral Majority (n=8, 2.6%)
Hospital (n=9, 2.9%)	Business (n=5, 3.7%)	Police (n=7, 2.3%)
Federal Govt. (n=8, 2.6%)	Coal. Better TV (n=5, 3.7%)	Coal. Better TV (n=5, 1.6%)

[a]The primary source is the source from which most information in a story was obtained. If several sources were used equally, the primary source is the first source mentioned. The cut-off point was arbitrarily set at five.

[b]All archdiocese and diocese regardless of geographic location are included in this category.

Table 3

News Values in Religion News Articles by Specialists and Non-Specialists at Three Newspapers

News Value	Times		Star		Times-Dispatch	
	Spec. (n=28)	Non-spec. (n=306)	Spec. (n=141	Non-spec. (n=136)	Spec. (n=165)	Non-spec. (n=367)
Change	32.1%	14.4%	24.1%	16.9%	22.4%	17.4%
Conflict	42.9%	47.1%	15.6%	36.0%	37.6%	39.8%
Violence	----	13.4%	-----	14.7%	1.8%	11.2%
Novelty	3.6%	4.2%	2.8%	5.1%	1.2%	4.1%
Cooperation	3.6%	2.3%	8.5%	6.6%	5.5%	4.4%
Human Interest	17.9%	17.0%	10.6%	15.4%	6.7%	14.2%
Coverage[a]	-----	2.6%	38.3%	5.1%	24.8%	9.0%
Total	100.1%[a]	100.0%	99.9%[b]	99.8%[b]	100.0%	100.1%[b]

[a]This category includes announcements and simple accounts of events for which no other news value was appropriate. The content analysis scheme did not include timeliness, proximity or consequence because of difficulties making the subjective judgments necessary to place a story into the appropriate category.

[b]Totals do not equal 100 percent because of rounding.

Table 4

The Top Stories[a] According to
Religion Specialists at Three Newspapers[a]

Times (n=28)	Star (n=141)	Times-Dispatch (n=165)
So. Bapt. Conv. (n=5, 17.9%)	Luth. Church-Mo.Syn. Conv. (n=8, 5.7%)	Fund.- Modernist Debate (n=7, 4.2%)
Natl. Council of Churches Member- (n=2, 7.1%)	Proposed Merger of Lutheran Churches (n=3, 2.1%)	So. Bapt. Conv. (n=7, 4.2%)
World Council of Churches African Policies (n=2, 7.1%)	---	Electronic Church (n=6, 3.5%)
---	---	Moral Majority, Inc. (n=4, 2.4%)

[a]For the purpose of this table, a "story" is defined as at least two articles appearing on at least two different days and devoted to essentially the save event/situation and involving essentially the same individuals or organizations. All stories developed by religion specialist are included in the list. However, the stories are based only on articles written by the religion specialists. The Southeran Baptist convention does not appear on the Star list and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod convention does not appear on the Times-Dispatch list because these newspapers covered these stories through articles written by both their religion specialists and other journalists. Only the religion writers at the Times reported on these two events.

Table 5

The Top Religion Stories[a] According to non-Specialists at Three Newspapers[a]

Times (n=304)	Star (n=136)	Times-Dispatch (n=361)
Pope's Health[b] (n=23, 7.5%)	Pope's Health[b] (n=15, 11.0%)	Pope's Health[b] (n=23, 6.3%)
Holocaust Memorial (n=13, 4.2%)	TV Boycott (n=13, 9.6%)	Moral Majority (n=14, 3.8%)
Ireland:Rel. Confl. (n=11, 3.6%)	Poland:Ch. & Pol. (n=4, 2.9%)	Iran:Fund. Rev. (n=12, 3.5%)
TV Boycott (n=10, 3.3%)	Ireland:Rel. Confl. (n=4, 2.9%)	TV Boycott (n=11, 3.0%)
Cult Deprog. Bill (n=9, 2.9%)	Papal Assas.[c] (n=4, 2.9%)	Ireland:Rel. Confl. (n=7, 1.9%)
Rev. Moon:Legal (n=8, 2.6%)	Br. Royal Wedding (n=4, 2.9%)	Papal Assass.[c] (n=6, 1.6%)
Arg.:anti-semitism (n=7, 2.3%)	Holocaust Memorial (n=3, 2.2%)	Sandra Day O'Connor (n=5, 1.4%)
Israeli Election (n=6, 2.0%)	Moral Majority (n=3, 2.2%)	Abortion (n=5, 1.4%)
Iran:Fund. Rev. (n=5, 1.6%)	M. Teresa's Visit (n=3, 2.2%)	Holocaust Memorial (n=5, 1.4%)
Poland:Ch. & Pol. (n=5, 1.6%)	Hare Krishna Case (n=3, 2.2%)	Poland:Ch. & Pol. (n=5, 1.4%)
Papal Assass.[c] (n=5, 1.6%)	---	----

[a]A "story" is defined as articles appearing on at least two different days, but devoted to essentially the same event/situation and involving essentially the same participants. The cut-off point was arbitrarily set at 10 continuing stories except where ties made it necessary to include an extra story.

[b]Articles about the Pope's health discuss his physical condition following an assassination attempt.

[c]These articles discuss other aspects of the attempted assassination.